

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 11202

E.O.: 11652. GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, JA

SUBJECT: JAPANESE SEAT ON UN SECURITY COUNCIL

SUMMARY: JAPANESE HAVE BEGUN APPROACHING OTHER SC

PERMANENT MEMBERS IN QUEST FOR PERMANENT SEAT ON UN SECURITY COUNCIL. JAPANESE HAVE DECIDED FIRST SEEK AGREEMENT OF SC PERMANENT MEMBERS THAT JAPAN ENTITLED TO AND QUALIFIED FOR SC SEAT. GOJ INTENDS DOWNPLAY FOR PRESENT ANY DISCUSSION HOW SEAT CAN BE OBTAINED, HOPING AVOID ENMESHING CURRENT JAPANESE EFFORTS WITH BROADER AND MORE COMPLICATED ISSUES OF SC ENLARGEMENT. POPPER REITERATED US SUPPORT FOR JAPAN'S CANDIDACY. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING OPENING SESSION US-JAPAN CONSULTATIONS ON UN, JAPANESE SIDE EXPRESSED GREAT APPRECIATION FOR SUPPORT EXTENDED BY PRESIDENT IN NIXON-TANAKA COMMUNIQUE RE JAPANESE SEAT ON UNSC. JAPANESE DISCLOSED THEY NOW PLAN TO APPROACH OTHER SC PERMANENT MEMBERS AND HAVE MADE INITIAL CONTACTS WITH UK, FRANCE, AND USSR.

2. JAPANESE DISCUSSED SUBJECT WITH UK PRIMIN HEATH DURING OCTOBER 1972 VISIT AND FOUND HIM SYMPATHETIC, BUT UK REPORTEDLY SEES VARIOUS TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES.

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FRENCH RESPONSE CHARACTERIZED AS "NOT ADAMANT" IN

OPPOSITION BUT CLEARLY RELUCTANT TO AGREE THAT JAPANESE VIEWS ARE SOUND. SPECIFIC SOVIET RESPONSE NOT MENTIONED BUT JAPANESE ESTIMATE SOVIETS WILL OPPOSE ENLARGING COUNCIL IN PRINCIPLE BUT WILL LIKELY RESPOND TO JAPANESE EFFORTS ON BASIS TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS. JAPANESE PLAN TO PURSUE SUBJECT DURING TANAKA MOSCOW VISIT IN OCTOBER. JAPANESE HAVE NOT YET APPROACHED PRC BUT SEE CHINESE AS "INTERESTED

BUT NOT COMMITTED."

3. OWADA, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, SAID JAPANESE -- IN SEEKING DEFINE TACTICAL STEPS -- RECOGNIZE DILEMMA CONFRONTING THEM. IF CANDIDACY PUT IN CONTEXT OF SPECIFIC NUMERICAL ENLARGEMENT OF SC, INCLUDING OTHERS AS WELL AS JAPAN, GENERAL UN MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE MORE FAVORABLY DISPOSED. IF PRESENT PERMANENT MEMBERS COULD AGREE TO SUCH SPECIFIC INCREASE, THERE COULD BE BASIS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. BUT, OWADA CONTINUED, FRENCH AND SOVIETS APPEAR OPPOSED TO ANY SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN SIZE OF SC. THUS ALTERNATIVE IS TO PERSUADE THEM FIRST OF MERITS JAPAN'S CASE, EVEN THOUGH THIS COURSE MAKES JAPANESE TASK MORE DIFFICULT WITH OTHER UN MEMBERS.

4. THUS JAPANESE FOCUS NOW IS TO APPROACH PERMANENT SC MEMBERS REQUESTING SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE FOR JAPANESE CANDIDACY BUT WITHOUT OUTLINING HOW JAPANESE EXPECT TO ACHIEVE IT. DISCUSSION OF LATTER WOULD COMPLICATE JAPANESE EFFORTS AND WOULD IN ANY CASE BE PREMATURE. JAPANESE PRESENTLY ONLY SEEKING AGREEMENT OF PERMANENT MEMBERS THAT JAPAN IS "ENTITLED TO AND QUALIFIED FOR" PERMANENT SC SEAT.

5. OWADA ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED JAPANESE HAVE CONSIDERED OTHER VARIANTS INCLUDING PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP WITHOUT VETO AND QUASI-PERMANENT STATUS AS REGULAR CHOICE OF ASIAN REGIONAL GROUP FOR PRESENT NON-PERMANENT SEAT, BUT ALL PRESENT DIFFICULTIES.

6. POPPER REITERATED US SUPPORT FOR JAPANESE CANDIDACY AND INDICATED OUR WILLINGNESS HELP WHERE POSSIBLE AND USEFUL. OBSTACLES OBVIOUSLY EXIST, INCLUDING RELUCTANCE

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OF SOME PERMANENT MEMBERS TO RISK THEIR OWN PRESENT STATUS AND PROBLEM OF HOW TO ACHIEVE JAPANESE MEMBERSHIP WITHOUT MAKING UNSC UNMANAGEABLE AS RESULT COMPENSATING ADMISSION FOR OTHERS. POPPER EXPRESSED PERSONAL AGREEMENT

THAT JAPANESE ACTION IS GOOD INITIAL STEP IN CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT POINTED OUT OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY ASK JAPANESE HOW THEY INTEND ACHIEVE PERMANENT SEAT BEFORE

DEFINITELY COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO SUPPORT GOJ. IN RESPONSE TO OWADA'S QUESTION, POPPER STATED US HAS MADE NO JUDGMENT ON DESIRABLE OR ACCEPTABLE INCREASE IN SIZE OF UNSC. POPPER ADDED BEST ARGUMENT IN FAVOR JAPAN'S SC CANDIDACY WILL BE DEMONSTRATION OF JAPAN'S HIGH LEVEL OF FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION AND OVERALL LEADERSHIP IN UN SYSTEM.

7. AMB SAITO (JAPAN UNGL ASKED IF US WOULD TALK TO OTHERS ON BEHALF JAPAN'S CANDIDACY. POPPER RESPONDED WE HAD NOT CONSIDERED ONE WAY OR OTHER QUESTION OF TAKING INITIATIVE ON BEHALF GOJ, BUT WOULD CONSIDER ANY JAPANESE REQUEST. WE NOT CERTAIN THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL TO THEM INGERSOLL

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